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Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

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Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belém on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajoz.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajoz from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajoz.

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Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajoz on the twenty-third of February,[74]1872.

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Translator's Note:

Whenever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other naive words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

797 by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

[124] The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

114 I continued my journey up the Tapajoz and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajoz, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

[201 805] The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of [103] Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

Cererepçá	500
Cabroá	500
Imburariri	350
Macapá	360
Ucuberi	250
Cabetutum	350
Chacorão	700
Airi	300
Bacabal (Mission)	500
Boburé	100
Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

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Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas

Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' quarters.

The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

time. Many other peoples, if not all, have afforded posterity the sad spectacle of this aberration of human reason.

The Mundurucu hold fast to this fatal error: the sorcerer among them is irrevocably sentenced to death, but this is the only instance when capital punishment is applied.

The missionary from Bacabal, F: Pelino de Castrovalva, relates the following case in the Report he submitted to the President of Pará on the fourteenth of August, 1876:

"First of all, Your Excellency must know that one of my greatest concerns, during my five years of office in this Mission, has been to blot out from the Indians' heads some stubborn superstitions, especially those which stood most directly opposed to religion and to the well-being of society.

"Now, one of the strongest superstitions I had to battle was that of witchcraft.

"All I did not say, all I did not do, to wrench from their hearts this evil superstition! And how many deaths were not caused by those mistaken beliefs before the Mission was founded! However, when I already believed that I had persuaded them to loathe this abominable sin, lo and behold [108] one day when the missionary was not there they reverted to the same practices.

"Your Excellency is aware that last year I came to the capital [of Pará] to attend to some affairs of the Mission. Well, while I was away, several people in the Mission sickened and died.

"And some of the Indians began to cry: 'It is witchcraft! It is witchcraft!'

"We must kill the sorcerers. They want to kill us all: we must kill them! They selected four young men of the Mission to be sacrificed as sorcerers. They were able to find one of them, by the name of Ismael; the others, warned in time, fled and came back to the Mission after my return.

"The young man was killed with two gunshots, and finished off with blows on the head.

"The executioners were Silvano da Silva and another boy (now dead).

"The commander was Capt. José da Gama who, around noon of the day when he gave orders to kill Ismael (who lived on

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

683 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[492] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

796 224 village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

796 241 In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" 796 241 539 of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

"Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ beré bereme u tiédié imenedié diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽé taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedié tutu utiẽ-die araiarai utẽcõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime éirũ berereme bate que mẽaipanhate uéré mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

648 797 The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

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source of violent complaints on the part of the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

To give an idea of the obstacles the Government must face in its great endeavor to christianize [135] the aboriginal tribes, I shall relate here the history of the Mission of Bacabal, which managed to gather together five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe, indubitably one of Brazil's principal aboriginal groups.

So that I may not be accused of bias, I shall transcribe textually certain documents written by the citizens of the district and by the missionary, which bring out the animosity between the two sides.

The leading cultivators and tradesmen of the Itaituba District sent a petition to the Legislative Assembly of the province of Pará on the first of March, 1874, complaining that the missionary of Bacabal did no more than monopolize the labor of the peaceable Indians on the banks of the Tapajoz, without troubling to christianize the savage bands of the central villages.

This petition is here reproduced in full:

"To the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. -- At the end of the year 1871, the missionaries Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva and Fa. Antonino came to the Upper Tapajoz to found a mission in a location more easily accessible to the aboriginal tribes which still inhabit, in large numbers, the interior of the region. This event was lauded by all, for it would ensure the growth and flowering of this part of the Empire, which lacks manpower in its dwindling agriculture and in other areas that underlie and maintain our trade. The missionaries chose the spot named Bacabal, the seat of a very old settlement of Indians who were already civilized, working in agriculture and the extraction of rubber, lending their skillful knowledge of canoe navigation, and bartering the products of their husbandry. The missionaries, ill-informed and reckless, [136] listening as they did to tramps and adventurers, immediately declared war on the tradesmen, calling them all without exception thieves and scoundrels. They advised the Indians not to pay their debts because they owed nothing, and prevented them from lending their skill to the dangerous canoe trips along the falls, thus causing terrible damage in the years 1872 and 1873, such as the loss of

648 797 twelve canoes with their loads and several lives!... These facts were related to the Government in the columns of a newspaper published in the town of Santarem. Unhappily, it seems that the higher authorities have been deceived and do not believe the true accounts provided by the press. This evil waxes greater day by day, for the missionaries, protected as they are by a government that entertains the most laudable intentions toward the process of christianization, keep in Bacabal those Indians who resided there and suborn into their service many who were employed by the tradesmen, as well as Negroes who led an irregular life. They put these people to tasks that benefit only the missionaries themselves, to singing hymns, and to performing other acts which decency demands to pass over in silence. The enclosed documents will make clear the behavior of these missionaries, who to this day have contributed nothing to the cause of christianization. This has already moved the Municipal Chamber of Itaituba to report to the Government the manner of behavior of these missionaries, which runs altogether counter to the ends of their mission and which to date has achieved no results whatever. -- The undersigned therefore request this illustrious body to recognize the growing evils which threaten the Upper Tapajoz, and to authorize the president of the province to send a delegation of competent men to investigate the facts and uncover the truth, so that measures may be taken to abolish the distress [137] which forces us to present this petition to the elected rulers of the people. Itaituba, March 1, 1874." (The signatures follow.)

The missionary father, on the other hand, does not bitterly indict all the citizens who signed the petition, but only those tradesmen named regatões [hucksters] who yearly penetrate the Upper Tapajoz, carrying in small canoes a few articles to barter for rubber, sage, copaiba oil, and other natural products of the region.

In a letter dated January 20, 1876, the missionary Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva relates the following events to the president of the province of Pará:

"It was on July 10 of last year that Mr. Tocantins visited this Mission; a few days after his departure I had to come to the capital, as Your Exc. knows, for reasons concerning the welfare of the Mission.

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797 "During my absence the public morality of the village was thoroughly disturbed by some illicit peddlers.

. . . . . .

"These hucksters and their crews, having learned that the Mission was empty, made for the village one by one without delay and there committed excesses of robbery and licentiousness.

"According to their custom, they first intoxicated the Indians with cachaça [a kind of rum], thus depriving them of their reason, and then took from them everything they could -- manioc flour, ducks, chickens, etc. -- giving them in return nothing but the cachaça they could drink.

"They carried out public whoring day and night, in the harbor and in the houses; and, oh! Sir, in this respect they were truly [138] excessive! There was not one family of poor Indians whose dearest honor and decency they did not abuse horribly, and even the stones shed tears before such a clamity!

"The demoralization went so far that in their intoxicated state the Indians themselves copied the licentiousness of the hucksters, forgetting all they had learned and turning the Mission on those days into a veritable brothel!

"As a result of these unusual goings-on in the village during my absence, which lasted but 49 days, a notable retrogresion took place.

"At that time also, ten Indians seized by some superstition (which possibly was also spread by strangers) kept saying that now that the missionary was gone the government had ordered them all to be killed, and that Mr. Tocantins had been sent here to this end; whereupon they fled into the depths of the woods.

"Others, numbering more than twenty, were deceived by the peddlers and left the village with them to help with the extraction of rubber.

"Several others contracted agreements with hucksters and rubber extractors, and were about to leave the Mission when I returned.

"Had the Mission remained abandoned a few days longer, it would have been completely destroyed.

"My unexpected return caused much perturbation among the Indians and much surprise to the enemy.

"Thanks to Divine Providence, public order was restored. Those Indians who had been led away from the Mission were sought out, and soon I was able to bring them all back [139] into the fold. I redoubled the discipline in accordance with the regulations, forbidding sharp dealing strangers to stop at the Mission or to contract agreements with the Indians in my absence and without my permission.

"The protection which the Government has so justly and wisely granted to the Mission has caused the despair of its enemies; and now that they are perfectly aware of this, they are slowly giving up the whole scheme.

"Following my return to the Mission there occurred only one unfortunate event, as follows:

"One of the greatest deceivers of the Indians, one Boaventura Alves Pereira, a licentious man who deals in cachaça and for this reason has often been expelled from the Mission, came one night secretly to some Indians, between December 10 and 15 of last year, and invited them to come and trade with him at a nearby harbor. The Indians, though somewhat wary, consented and accompanied him. The usual episodes were repeated: everything took place, though with greater moderation.

"As soon as I became aware of his presence, I immediately sent out some Indians in military uniform (who form here a sort of detachment), ordering them to bring me the huckster so that I might take back from him what he had stolen from them. They went; but on sighting soldiers the huckster untied his canoe from the dock. As the corporal attempted to hold the canoe and seize him, the huckster threatened to kill him with his gun.

"The disappointed corporal and his comrades ran to get a canoe and set out after him; but in order to avoid a conflict I did not allow them to do so.

"I punished the chiefs of the guilty Indians; and the huckster being a repeated offender, I denounced him to the subdelegate of Itaituba in accordance with mission regulations. [139]

"However, Sir, knowing the hostility which rules in Itaituba against the Mission, nothing is to be expected from those quarters. For this reason I turn to Your Exc. and request and beg

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that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

. . . . . .

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin -- The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the Tapajoz river banks.

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Around that time, a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajoz, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to those parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several woman and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajoz, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

[i.e., ca. January, 1876. -Analyst]

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savages. When the latter returned, they were furious on finding the men gone, and they cut off her head with wooden knives and carried it with them, leaving behind the rest of the body, a large number of arrows thrust into the roof of the hut and into a canoe, and others set in the form of a cross as a sign of vengeance.

"As a result of this episode, all the rubber gatherers who lived in those parts left for the islands, abandoning a stretch along the right bank of the Tapajoz some fifty leagues in length, from Apuí to Montanhas.

"When I heard about this at the Mission, I should have liked to fly out in search of those wretched aborigines; but after seriously considering the facts and the information [143] provided by the Mission Mundurucu, I realised that any such attempt would be futile. The thick impassable forests, the lakes, the dense network of streams branching all over the interior, all this makes the passage of a missionary altogether impossible."

XXV

Further antagonism between the missionary of Bacabal and the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

The hostilities between the missionary and those he called foes of the Mission were steadily maintained.

The Imperial Government has to heart the cause of Christianization and was eager to investigate the case, but it was difficult to determine the truth in those faraway parts.

The honorable president of the province of Pará, Commander Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, took it upon himself to visit the Mission of Bacabal in order to study all that pertained to the cause of christianization and to submit a detailed report to the Ministry of Agriculture.

I had the opportunity to observe that this mission which is one of the largest in the Empire, numbering as it does five hundred Indians, is in a position to perform great services by inviting to Christianity not only those Mundurucu who still live in the

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jungle, far from the banks of the Tapajoz, but also the unruly Parintintin and all the heathen bands that roam the valley of the Upper Xingu and the borderlands of the province of Mato Grosso. [144]

The grave accusation had been levelled at Fa. Pelino that by reason of his own private interests he paid more attention to commerce than to catechism.

It is true that the missionary carried out a significant amount of trade with the Pará market, selling rubber, sage, copaiba oil and other natural products of this rich territory which had been extracted by the Mission Indians, and in turn buying foreign goods.

The citizens who lodged the complaint against Fa. Pelino maintained that the greater part of this trade was carried out for his own account, and that he had actually remitted important sums of money to Europe.

But the missionary denied this, asserting that the trade was carried out not for his own benefit but for that of the Mission Indians, who extracted these products from the forest and to whom he submitted accounts.

Be that as it may, in the absence of convincing proof that the missionary actually was enriching himself at the expense of the Mission -- proof all the more needed in view of the gravity of the accusation -- the Government decided to uphold the missionary and the Mission and in fact did so.

Unfortunately, however, new events occurred which placed a heavy strain on the missionary's repute.

These events grew in consequence, the matter was widely debated in the daily press and on the rostrum of Pará's Legislative Assembly.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the authoritative voice of my distinguished friend, Dr. Cantão, rose in defense of the missionary.

The enlightened opinion of the nation, which is not indifferent to such matters, expressed itself strongly. [145]

It was unfortunately established beyond doubt that the missionary had not always lived up to the trust which the Imperial Government had invested in him.

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648 787 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

648 787 439 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause than the Indian trade.

I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains. [154]

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

Ma
Ma 448 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
197 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The
Ma district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of
249 acknowledged medicinal worth.
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439 The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native
Ma to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to
[532] this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram;
[435] and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Mu The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147]
439 and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months
Mu and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult
[505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, who called those wretched Indians to the Mission in large numbers, used to tell them: "My sons, you owe nothing to these illicit tradesmen; from [149] now on, work only for yourselves, for your wives and for your children."

XXVI

Trade between the Indians and the traders --
Strange and fabulous running accounts.

The missionary of Bacabal showed me several running accounts made out to the Indians by the peddlers, in which the former always owed the latter very large sums of money.

We will reproduce below the running account between the petty tradesman Manoel Quirino Paes and the Indian chief Joaquim Correia Piampé. Then we will outline the same running account, figured out in terms of cash and listing the respective prices.

This will demonstrate that even if we assume an honest and exact listing of the commodities sold as to quantity and quality, and of the rubber purchased as to weight, the goods were dealt out to the Indian at 400 per cent of their cost value.

There follows another running account, indicating that the chief José Francisco owes the trader Jose Domingos de Oliveira the tremendous sum of 6,876,282 reis!

It looks like a transaction between two wealthy parties; yet José Domingos de Oliveira is but a poor trader living in a simple hut on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and the chief José Francisco is a half-naked and illiterate savage. [150]

RUNNING ACCOUNT

"The chief Joaquim Corrêa Piampé owes Manoel Quirino Paes to March 28th:

2 cuts thick americano, 80 yards	5 arrobas rubber
2 cuts strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	5 "

175 turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
448 (Parauautes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several
[197] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on
[16] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

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** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

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Santarém and *Gurupa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932).

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Río de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
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Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous.

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective.

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy.

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large

portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururú River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape.

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[3] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice.

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[4] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributry of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[5] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[3] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of neo-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[4] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[5] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[5] Spix and Martius visited the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirim, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[6] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[7]

The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams. Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[8] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[9] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[5] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[6] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[7] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[8] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[9] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 223.
[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[11] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn, traded directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[11] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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797 rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for
175 causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding
[161] forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent
771 upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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Attendance at church services is always greatest on such special holy days as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis, the patron of the mission. The nuns serve refreshments to the participants, and dances are held in the houses of the Mundurucú who reside at the mission. These occasions unite hundreds of people and thus serve as the social equivalents of the now defunct tribal ceremonies devoted to the game-animal spirits.

Most Mundurucú ceremonies are no longer practiced by any segment of the population. The priests have made special efforts to discourage the practice of native rites in those Cururú River villages under their influence, and only the ceremony to regain stolen souls is still held. This rite requires the participation of only three or four shamans and two men who possess knowledge of certain songs, and is held in the closed house of the sick person. It is thus quite easily concealed from the attention of the priests, and the rites have been held in houses only a stone's throw from the priests' residence. Ceremonies involving a large number of participants have fallen out of practice, even among the more traditional savannah dwellers, who are not readily responsive to the dictates of the priests. As in the case of warfare, it is obvious that culture change was on the side of the missionaries and that their efforts were not the crucial factor in the decline of these aspects of Mundurucú culture. On the other hand, more individualized religious practices are still quite active among the Mundurucú. The priests recognize the psychological value of shamanism and have made little effort to inhibit its practice. They are quite realistic as to its tenacity among not only the Indians but the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon. But the position of the missionaries is of necessity ambiguous, for the ideological basis of shamanism is inextricably connected with the concepts surrounding sorcery, to which they are adamantly opposed. Frequent sermons are delivered against belief in witchcraft as the cause of illness, and the priests are extremely severe with those of their parishioners who take part in sorcery killings. Their efforts in this direction have had the net effect of causing the Mundurucú to withhold information on their religious beliefs, but it can be confidently stated that even the most acculturated Mundurucú believe firmly in witchcraft.

One of the more interesting facets of contemporary Mundurucú culture on the Cururú River is the general indifference of the people to Christian beliefs, in spite of their acceptance of the mission as an institution. There can be no denial of the fact that the priests are greatly respected by the Mundurucú and have great power among them. Chieftaincy in the Cururú villages is dependent upon recognition by the missionaries, and the major function of the chiefs is to act as intermediaries between the villages and the mission. The priests continually recruit children for the mission school in spite of the passive resistance of their parents, and they are able to bring considerable coercion to bear upon individuals through their economic power. But the Indians are only nominally Christians in spite of this influence and the intensive catechization to which they are exposed.

The following chapters describe the manner in which the Indians have integrated and syncretized Christianity into their own belief system. This process

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[7] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

[7] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacupari, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5-6.

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the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies. 797 773 842

In all his activities, Karusakaibö is accompanied by his constant companion, Dailru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky. 773

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibö myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karutacuibö and Wakurumpö ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichikö is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichikö is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-eung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibö is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisuat, and the wars of Turichungpö and Karudailbi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibö and Wakurumpö. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.* The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually 776 224

*Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 35-36) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are closely related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these both supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 233) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Itá." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protective spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Tenetehara refer to them as fathers (Kock-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176-177).

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776 825 These *Turupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Turupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Turupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of *Turupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Munduruci venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Turupari* is a magical stone that is thrown at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Turupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the *Turupari* can be prevented, but Munduruci shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Turupari* while in the field because the Munduruci informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Munduruci. The priests translated the Devil as *Turupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Turupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Turupari* beliefs shared by the Munduruci and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Turupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian caboclos, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to emanate victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Itá the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Munduruci *Turupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Munduruci also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Turupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

776 171 177

* Wagley, 1953, p. 166.

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phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Eurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[1] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Munduruci belief that the *Turupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Turupari*, or Devil.[2] The absence of any concept of sin in the Munduruci belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The *Turupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aiši* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aiši* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Munduruci believe that these *aiši*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the *Turupari*, the *aiši* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aiši* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aiši* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Munduruci mothers often see *aiši* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aiši* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Munduruci believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and cooperation, and few Munduruci hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Munduruci gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aiši*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aiši*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[1] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[2] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Turupari. Métraux (1928, p. 59) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Munduruci might well have shared this element.

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rich in game animals, and they and the Mundurucú souls pass their time in dancing. Both Karŭkŭkai and Upŏtcharŏ lie in a subterranean land called Karubisese. The Mundurucú believe Karubisese has three locations: below the headwaters of the Juruena River, under the Great Falls of the Cururú River, and west of the Tapajós River beyond where the sun sets.

Life in the underworld is far better than in the terrestrial realm. The souls reassume their old bodies, but they are groomed and decorated in the manner followed by the Mundurucú before the coming of the white men. Similarly, the souls do not have to gather rubber, for there are no traders or trade goods; in short, the aboriginal culture is completely reëstablished in the underworld. Food is good and abundant, and the Mundurucú souls make war and take trophy heads. But Mundurucú warriors are never killed in the hereafter—only the enemy dies.

It has already been mentioned that the souls of those people killed by attacks of the *Furupari* go to the land of the *Furupari* and are there transformed into these demons. The Mundurucú look upon this as an undesirable fate, although it is not regarded with particular dread and foreboding. The same lack of deep concern for the fate of the soul is found in Mundurucú attitudes toward the afterworlds of the trumpets and the game. Although all acknowledge that life in these realms must indeed be idyllic, no one actively anticipates this existence. The Mundurucú do not learn ceremonial dances or play the trumpets in order to gain a favored residence after death. There were no indications that concepts of the afterlife acted as motivating factors or goals of behavior. Correspondingly, since one's fate after death is not considered as a reward for socially valued behavior, there is no post-mortem punishment or retribution for undesirable behavior. One goes to the land of the *Furupari* only because one has been attacked and killed by them, and those attacks are the result of misfortune and not of sin. To the Mundurucú life after death is not a subject for worry. When I asked one informant where she expected to go after death, she laughingly replied, "To a termite hill." Another decided to go to Pará (Belém), which all Mundurucú know to be the great city of the white men.

Missionary teachings have affected the beliefs of the more intensively proselytized Mundurucú to some extent. Those Indians who had spent some time at the mission school knew that people who did things contrary to the teachings of the priests went to "the fire of the *Furupari*," but those who acted according to those precepts "joined Tupan in the sky." However, it is doubtful if Christian belief in the hereafter influenced the behavior of more than a few of the most rigorously indoctrinated Indians. Although missionary teachings were generally accepted as true (at least as applicable to the white men) owing to the high prestige of the priests among the Mundurucú, the Indians commonly accepted the form of the ideas only and not their meaning. In those cases where the form of a Catholic belief became integrated into the culture, it invariably was made meaningful in Mundurucú terms, and the actual form underwent some transmutation in the process. Usually the same cultural trait will not have the same function in two

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illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Missão Velha during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River.

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 26 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery accusations involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the

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founder of the mission of Barabal on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to detest such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[1]

[1] Cited in Tavartins, 1877, pp. 198-199.

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VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapter of this study it was suggested that changes in Munduruc religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Munduruc society.

Until very recent years, the core of Munduruc religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Munduruc religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Arusorui* and *Dajaworipip* ceremonies were the most important of all Munduruc rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Munduruc village.

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. [illegible] can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Dajaworip* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Perisiat, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Munduruc society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Munduruc depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Munduruc for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Munduruc as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the *Pawaparí*. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Munduruc, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

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omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America.

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1860, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

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131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauaín tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
197 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3-5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 304.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 305.

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settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians." [9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton." [10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts." [11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

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sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

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175 182 648 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] [384] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

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rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [33] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[33] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

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on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale.

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber.

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

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175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

175 439 797 In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a great return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. The population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 the were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannah whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

[361] [166] [162]

175 439 657 Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

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to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

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particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

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in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú household shows that the people there own many more manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native manufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock making are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appreciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western culture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arithmetic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remarkable. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

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the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

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cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are more frequent in September, October, and November when rubber is still being collected and the river has begun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule, [591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal *or* to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family [59] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements [47] the previously described loss of cooperative patterns in [59] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

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THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

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owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are considered to be the property of the chief, since they were purchased through his and his extended family's labor. The large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cururú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate cooperative patterns. Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position primarily to recognition by the mission, but who is also accorded some deference because of his age and his status as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

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622 554 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

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the central problem of this work. It might be asked whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of acculturation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could the development of matrilocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and tonsure, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which people and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171] of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquisitions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grasslands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour ex- 262 177 emplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [353] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [439] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 241 177 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

/17 cont./

241 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants
177 /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

262 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence
139 of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are
177 products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are
799 cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc root"—
412 mandi ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.